

Oil-Leasing Provision Dropped:

Anti-Apartheid Bill Weakened In Bid to Boost Senate Support

Sponsors of South Africa sanctions legislation made a major concession to opponents Sept. 14 in hopes of shoring up support if the bill reaches the Senate floor.

Minutes before the Foreign Relations Committee was scheduled to act on the measure (S 2756), Alan Cranston, D-Calif., stripped from it one of the most controversial features: a ban on grants of new U.S. oil and mineral leases to foreign-owned companies that do business in South Africa. That provision, which would have affected the Shell and BP-America oil firms, among others, was staunchly opposed by oil-state senators of both parties.

Cranston said that deleting it from the bill would "substantially improve" chances that a majority of the Senate would vote for the bill. However, Cranston said sponsors still do not have the 60 votes needed to break a filibuster in the Senate, or the two-thirds vote needed to override a promised veto by President Reagan.

Foreign Relations went on to approve the bill on a party-line vote of 10-9. So far, Lowell P. Weicker Jr., R-Conn., is the only GOP senator who publicly supports the bill.

The solid Democratic vote for the bill masked unease about it among members of that party as well. Several Democrats had expressed concern about the sweeping nature of a bill that would cut off nearly all trade between the United States and South Africa.

One committee Democrat, Terry Sanford, N.C., issued a statement saying he was voting for the bill "with considerable reluctance." If the bill reaches the floor, Sanford said, he might offer an amendment delaying the trade sanctions until July 1, 1989. The current version of the bill makes most sanctions effective six months after enactment.

The House passed the sanctions legislation (HR 1580) on Aug. 11, with the support of only 24 Republicans. The 244-132 vote for the bill in that chamber fell about 50 short of the margin necessary to override a veto.

The goal of the sanctions bill is to

pressure the white minority government of South Africa into taking steps to eliminate the legal policies of discrimination against blacks and other non-whites. The sanctions would be lifted once the government took significant steps to dismantle apartheid. (*Background, Weekly Report* pp. 2527, 2294)

The Oil Provision

The South Africa bill for months has been subject to intense lobbying by both pro-sanctions groups and by business interests that would be affected by a tightened economic embargo against Pretoria.

In recent months, much of the lobbying has focused on a once-obscure provision denying new U.S. energy and mineral leases to foreign-owned companies that do business in South Africa. Originally authored by Rep. Bob Wise, D-W.Va., that provision was designed to affect the foreign parent companies of U.S. oil firms such as Shell and BP-America. U.S.-owned oil companies would be covered by other provisions barring all American business investments in South Africa. (*Weekly Report* p. 2150)

In addition to Shell and BP-

America, the Wise provision has been opposed by members of Congress from oil-producing states such as Louisiana, Texas and Alaska. The British Embassy also entered the fray, warning Congress that London might bar American firms from bidding on North Sea oil leases if the two British firms are excluded from getting new business in the United States.

Cranston insisted that he deleted the oil provision merely to shore up overall support in the Senate for the sanctions bill, and not in response to outside lobbying pressure. Other Senate sources said heavy lobbying by oil companies and others had heightened controversy about the bill, especially among conservative Democrats, necessitating Cranston's action.

Cranston's move to delete the provision provoked a bitter response from the ranking Republican on Foreign Relations, Jesse Helms, N.C. Helms declared that Cranston was violating a Sept. 8 unanimous agreement among committee members providing for a final vote on the sanctions bill on Sept. 14. Helms said it was "clearly understood" by members that the vote was to be on the original version of the bill.

But Cranston said he had the right under Senate rules to modify his own bill and that the agreement on a time for the vote did not preclude the committee from acting on amendments. Cranston also noted that Republicans had refused to offer amendments to the bill during two mark-up sessions scheduled for Sept. 8 and 9. Moreover, he added, deletion of the oil



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One of the bill's provisions condemns the use of violence in South Africa, by the government as well as by black dissenters.

—By John Felton

Panel Insists on Seeing North's Notebooks

After a partisan wrangle, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Sept. 14 stood by its demand to see private notebooks kept by former White House aide Oliver L. North.

By an 11-8 vote, the committee insisted that North submit the notebooks within 10 working days, in effect setting a deadline of Sept. 26. The committee originally voted April 26 to subpoena North's notes, along with numerous other documents in his possession.

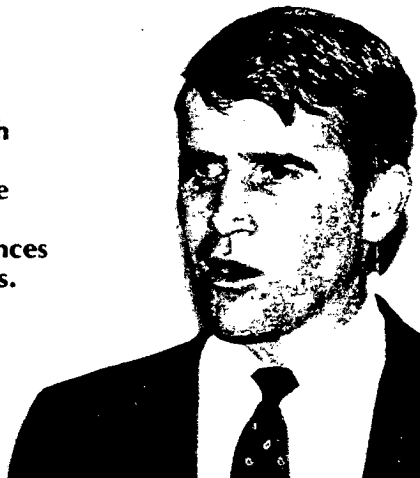
The committee's latest action excluded the other items from the subpoena. (*Weekly Report* p. 1157)

North's attorney, Brendan V. Sullivan Jr., has contested the subpoena and signaled his intention to force the committee to take the matter to court.

John Kerry, D-Mass., chairman of the subcommittee on terrorism, narcotics and communications, said North's notebooks are needed for the panel's inquiry into international narcotics trafficking. Heavily censored excerpts of his notes, turned over to the special Iran-contra committees last year, included references to narcotics matters.

Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., ranking member of the Kerry subcommittee, was the only Republican support-

Oliver L. North refuses to turn over his private notes, which include references to drug matters.



ing the move to enforce the subpoena against North.

Two Democrats also voiced concern that the committee action might jeopardize the prosecution of North in federal court. North has been indicted by a grand jury for his involvement in the Iran-contra affair, but a trial has been postponed because of disputes over his access to classified documents held by the Reagan administration.

Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., and Paul Simon,

D-Ill., said they worried that the case against North could be aborted because of prejudicial publicity if the subpoenaed documents are leaked.

Jesse Helms, N.C., the committee's ranking Republican, denounced the move against North, complaining especially that Democrats had hired attorney Stanley Brand to work on the matter without telling Republicans.

The Kerry panel has been investigating such matters as allegations that U.S. officials overlooked involvement in narcotics trafficking by Nicaragua's contra rebels and Panamanian strongman Manuel Antonio Noriega.

—By John Felton

provision was the only specific proposal ever suggested informally by a committee Republican.

Among Republicans, Cranston alleged: "There has been an obvious desire not to improve the measure."

Senate Bill Changes

In introducing their version of the sanctions bill on Sept. 7, Cranston and his cosponsors had modified several other provisions of the House bill in hopes of undercutting the arguments of opponents. Most of the changes had the effect of weakening the bill slightly; others merely clarified provisions that critics said were vague.

As approved by Foreign Relations, the Senate measure includes provisions that, differing from the House-passed version, would:

- Allow U.S. banks to continue re-scheduling, or renewing, existing loans to South African businesses, as long as doing so does not provide new money. The House bill would bar all loans to South Africa — whether to the govern-

ment or to businesses — and would not allow existing loans to be renewed. The Senate change had been sought by several major banks, led by Citicorp.

- Allow U.S. intelligence agencies to cooperate with their South African counterparts if the goal is to obtain "necessary intelligence" information. However, the Senate bill bars U.S. agencies from giving Pretoria information on South African opposition groups or on political, economic and military conditions in any South African country. The House bill barred any intelligence cooperation with South Africa, except for the exchange of information about the Cuban military presence in Angola.

- Delete provisions in the House bill calling on the president to close South African consulates in the United States, to eliminate all honorary consuls and to freeze the staffing of the South African Embassy in Washington.

- Exempt products of the black countries bordering South Africa from

a ban on importation into the United States of South African fish and seafood. Several other countries in the region ship their seafood through South African ports, so the House bill might have forced a ban on products from those countries as well as those of South Africa.

- Condemn all forms of violence in South Africa, including both the "torture and brutality" of government agencies and the bombings and other violent actions by opposition groups. The bill calls on the president to "denunciate" violence by the government as well as the African National Congress and to state that "the United States does not condone the use of violence as a means of achieving or thwarting political change."

- Clearly state that items produced by South African "parastatals" — government-owned businesses — cannot be imported into the United States. The House bill did not specifically include parastatals in its ban on importation of goods from South Africa. ■